

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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578 dancing in which both villages and other neighbouring ones participated. A year later Tagam gave a return feast to Lesu. Sciut's younger brother, Sagari, became the new chief for Tagam.

624 To-day, in each village the white Government appoints a
648 man called "Luluai," who acts as an intermediary between
554 the natives and Government officials. In some villages the
888 "Luluai" is a man of outstanding personality, from the family of the former fighting chief, or an *orang* of his clan and a man of real influence in the village. In other villages the choice of a "Luluai" may not be so fortunate. But even when he is a man of influence and strong personality, it is still the important old men of the clan who are the real rulers of the community. The "Luluai," if he is only a middle-aged man, is guided by them on any matter of importance.

THE FAMILY

593 The smallest unit based on kinship is the family, which cuts directly across the moiety and clan, since the father, as has been previously stated, is always of a different clan and moiety from those of his wife and children. On some occasions, when the clan functions as a unit, this division is brought out very clearly, as at the wedding rites of a daughter, when the mother and her clan relatives are active and the father is in the background. But, as a whole, the ties of sentiment which develop in family life are not severed.

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● 428 For instance, although the rule for the inheritance of property as well as status is that it comes through the female line, the former frequently comes down through the male line. Inheritance of property and of status are in quite different categories. The rule concerning status is inviolable. A child is always a member of his mother's clan and moiety. But a child may receive magical spells from his father as well as from his mother's brother or mother. Although a native informant will always tell you that the latter is the

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593 rule, in reality, when one studies concrete cases, as much
428 magic is inherited in the male as in the female line. For
611 the inheritance of property, including magic, the rule is
not rigid and family sentiments frequently override clan
rules.

593 Moreover, despite the cross-secting lines of the clan, the
family has a decidedly unified life. It is the husband who
clears the bush ground for cultivation, while his wife plants
taro. It is he who fishes and brings the larger part of the
catch to his wife. She prepares the taro for the evening meal,
which they and the children enjoy together, apart from the
rest of the hamlet. The mother nurses her infant, and her
husband quite frequently takes care of him while she is
busy in the garden, or with her cooking. By co-operation
in the infinite number of details which comprise family life,
[837] the unity of the family is maintained. Finally, a man and
his wife have a close affectionate and sexual life, although
extra-marital intercourse is rather usual. Even wife-beating,
[578] which may cause a temporary rift, serves at the same time
to assert the unity of the family; a man never beats his
mistress.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The kinship groups of moiety, clan, and family having been
briefly sketched, it remains to describe in more detail the
classificatory system of kinship. The distinctive element of
any such system is that a single relationship term is applied
to a large group of people and not just to one or a few
individuals. The division of the society into two totemic,
exogamous moieties has been noted, and the range of kinship
terminology is the moiety, all the members of which are
considered to be related. If, first, the principles of the
system within the immediate family are grasped, it is easy to
follow the more complicated extensions. The accompany-
ing diagram of a genealogy helps to illustrate the points.

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LIFE IN LESU

789 Now she puts the stones in an empty coconut shell and says:

755 *Nämbeseiin la la la la la la*

789 *Nämbeseiin la la la la la la*

(repeated several times).

Tide catch them (stones) go go go go go go.
(Freely, the sea and tide will carry you out.)

Murri, the name used in the beginning of the spell, is the name of a man of the Palila clan. It is thought that the *tsinanis* or spirit of this clan is inside of the sick woman and causing her illness. The evidence of this is her swollen eyes. The *tsinanis* of her own clan would not be inside of her, for the latter is friendly and would not harm her. But the *tsinanis* of another clan may be an enemy to her. (The Palila clan and the clan of the sick woman, Sinpop, are both of the same moiety.) The spell is designed to drive out the *tsinanis* from the ill woman.

MAGICAL STONE TO PROTECT HOUSE

778 One man has in his house a large heavy stone called *bäk*,
428 which is also the word for taro. The stone is carefully
hidden in a basket hanging on the wall. If a new house
is made, the stone completely covered up is removed to
the new house, and its removal is the occasion for a feast.
The man who now has the stone inherited it from his
father, who in turn received it from his father, and so on,
always coming down in the paternal line. The original
owner has given the stone the ability to attract food to the
house and to thus keep away famine and want.

778 Another man has a similar stone in his house, which
besides this function has also the power to cause anyone
who steals food from the house to die. The thief's hair

Fatmilak there are numerous sub-divisions which appear to have an important bearing in matters relating to land. The place of the sub-division in the life of the people between Kavieng and Fatmilak is a subject for further investigation. 614

However small its place in the groups north of Fatmilak, the sub-division of the people between Limalaua and Karu plays a most important part in social organization, culture and economic and land transactions. It constantly crops up in the mythology, and appears to be the unit of all important social phenomena. The sub-division may be an earlier form of social organization than the dual grouping into which the numerous sub-divisions are now divided. In the bush group of Limalaua I was given vague information to the effect that the sub-divisions of the eagle *minungak* are also sub-divisions of *ilok*, a black bush bird, and that the sub-divisions of the hawk *yarangam* are sub-divisions of *kugigama* an owl, but I had neither the time nor the opportunity to discover exactly what this meant.

During land inquiries held by me a whole series of stories was revealed, connected with the mythical origin of some of the sub-divisions, the members of which are now widely dispersed, some of them far from the villages where the groups are said to have originated. When land has to be bought from natives, claimants spring up from every direction, many of them far away from the land in question. The stories also account for certain migratory movements of the members of the sub-divisions, and shed an interesting light on such factors as inter-marriage and fission in the dispersal and distribution of social groupings. 773 614

The social groupings, therefore, to which an individual has definite obligations are his sub-division, his clan, his totem, his place of residence and his village or political unit, each of which plays an important part in regulating his material and cultural life. 614 624

Between Fatmilak and Karu the land appears to be owned by the sub-divisions or sub-groups, and each member of a sub-group appears to have vague individual rights to certain portions of the land of his group. He has, for instance, the right to allow any person, either of his own or the opposite clan, to make a garden on his land, which privilege, on the death of the holder, is subsequently inherited by his sister's children and own children. He has also the right to allow any person to plant coco-nut trees or any other useful trees on the land, and these trees may also be inherited as above. No person, however, appears to be able to dispose of any land without the consent of the other members of his sub-group, and, when payment is eventually made for the land purchased, all persons sharing in the benefits of the land share also in the purchase money. This is paid to the sub-group owners, and by them distributed according to their obligations. 423 614 [428] •

423 People enjoying the use of land belonging to a sub-group different from
614 their own invariably make presents of food and coco-nuts at different times to the owners of the land.

614 So widely distributed sometimes are the members of the sub-groups, that it is no uncommon thing during the investigation of a land-matter to find claimants living in villages a great distance from the ground in question.

428 In one pedigree investigated at Madina a man of that place named Arakai, inherited the ground and personal belongings of his father, who had no sister. Arakai also inherited the ground and belongings of his mother's brother; Aulim, although Aulim had a son. The property inherited from Aulim, however, was shared with the son. Usually before he dies, a man makes known his wishes regarding the disposition of property. Arakai, who has no children, has already
[562] told every one that on his death Tapua, the son of his sister, is to have his land and property. Women also appear to inherit ground.

In Letatan, a bush group living below Lassu, it was said that property is inherited by own children and sister's children.

During a land investigation at Lasigi and Konagnusgnus payment for land sold to a European was claimed by surviving members of the sub-group of the deceased land-owners. In all these cases claimants proved genealogical relationship. Shares in the payment were also claimed by the children and grandchildren of the dead men and the grandchildren of their brothers (these deceased land-owners had no sisters).

423 In a land investigation held at Lassu for the purpose of buying a
432 piece of land that the natives had agreed to sell, the following information was collected.

614 The area involved was owned by eight different sub-groups, each of which held one portion. A portion known as Pari was owned by the sub-group Pari; Langhalu was owned by Pagali sub-group; Kanawi was owned by Samkila sub-group; Roroi was owned by Roroi sub-group (the survivors of which lived at Langinia); Panula was owned by Sililia sub-group; Dangkolong was owned by Mauga sub-group; Mimilnat was owned by Solemba sub-group, and Lanluminandigo was owned by Tupila sub-group.

The surviving members of these sub-groups claimed payment. Some of them lived in villages many miles away from the ground, but all of them proved genealogical relationship with persons about three generations back to whom the various portions then belonged. Other claimants belonging to sub-groups different from those said to be the owners, and many belonging even to the opposite clan, then appeared, contending that, as their ancestors or parents had been permitted by the early owners to plant food or economic trees on various lots within